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PROFESSOR SMITH'S "JERUSALEM"

Jerusalem—The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A. D. 70. With Maps and Illustrations. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D. D., LL. D. London: HODDER & STOUGHTON, 1907-1908. Two Volumes (pp. xx, 498; xvi, 681; 8°).

PROFESSOR Smith has chosen a great subject, and he has handled it brilliantly, with a glow that is lit up from the glory of Zion. The perennial and increasing interest of the theme appears from the almost contemporaneous publication of three other books on Jerusalem by Dr. Merrill, Colonel Conder, and Professor Paton. There is no necessity of rivalry in this field; it is large enough for all trained and conscientious workers. Dr. Smith has had the inspiration of plotting out an undertaking which has not been before attempted. He would give an interpretation of Jerusalem on the basis of all that is known about her, both from the *débris* of archæology and the scattered references of literature. But the accumulation of facts, arduous and complete as that labor has been, is but the fundament of the work; the genius of the author reveals itself in the revivification of Jerusalem, so that her people walk her streets for us, we see what they saw, and we follow the clues of their common, everyday life, withal that the subject is not reduced to the sordid level of secularism, but always we feel the pulse of that inner, inscrutable life which has made her a spiritual mistress of the three religions of the West.

A professor of zoology has recently insisted on the fact that the poetic or artistic instinct is the nerve of all physical science; the same is true, still more imperative, of history, for the reason that the subject-matter of human history is itself poetic, the life of humanity. And George Adam Smith possesses the genius to interpret this sentient and creative spirit of human life, even when revealed in the broken fragments of ancient history. We speak of

this characteristic first, because it is the greatest. Yet, if it stood alone, the result might be only a fair ideal construction, appealing to the sense of the æsthetic but without response to the historical demand for facts. But the charm and proof of Professor Smith's genius lies in his ability to maintain and expound the poetic spell while he delves into the dust and bones of antiquity. To take the text of his book, he ignores not one of the things seen, which are temporal, they are for him the figures of the true; but as the Christian *midrash* concerning Abraham expresses it (Hebrews 11), he always "looks for the city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God", that ideal of priest and prophet, of Jesus and of Akiba, which has been the constituent element in Jerusalem's history.

There is perfect balance between the poetic and the analytic features of the work. As one admires the former, he recognizes that the author has not shunned a single objective task which has lain in his way. For him interpretation does not mean the overruling of facts but the accounting for them. Hence the division of his subject is based on secular lines. The work, which appears in two handsome and beautifully executed volumes, containing over eleven hundred pages, is divided into three books. Following a noble Introduction on "The Essential City", which compounds the realism and the idealism of the subject, the respective books treat "The Topography—Sites and Names"; "The Economics and Politics;" "The History," which latter comprises the whole second volume. The author thus engages all the vexed problems of philology, archæology, criticism, and historical reconstruction. First should be noticed the reasonableness and gentleness of all his discussions. No subject has been more fruitful of acrimony than the Holy City, whether in the contentions of hostile religions or prejudiced archæologists. Dr. Smith is a devout Christian and a sturdy Protestant, but he never abuses Jewish or ecclesiastical prejudices and traditions. Where he can speak on his own authority, he does so lucidly and at length, but without expatiation; he is fair and full in his treatment of opposite opinions. And he is equally modest in admitting his lack of special skill, but in these cases the opinion he lets fall commends itself by its conviction and reasonableness.

Two large volumes on a confined subject might appear too much; but though ample treatment is given to all problems, there is no waste of discussion and show of *akribeia*. This quality appears particularly in the first book, which treats of the topography. It will be an admirable guide to both layman and scholar in the mazes of the city's geography, and it will prove attractive and illuminating in a subject which in itself is dry and necessarily somewhat incomprehensible to a student who has not seen the contour and walls of Jerusalem. The chapters are written with the reader as well as the subject in mind; the writer feels it his duty to make the former visualize the latter. He has no new opinions to advance on the topography. In general he agrees with the consensus of modern scholarship, whose opinions, it is to be remembered, he has been a party in forming. Zion, David's City, the Ophel, are the same, the southern projection of the eastern hill; he doubts whether the southwestern hill was included at all in the earlier city, but holds that this must have been effected by Hezekiah's time, at least for the protection of the pool of Siloam. The question of the northern walls is fully treated. A series of admirable colored topographical maps throughout the volumes presents the various stages of the city's growth through the centuries, as the author understands the development.

The second book which treats of the economics of the city, presents a wider and more novel theme. The value of this section is not confined merely to the subject; every Palestinian city comes under its scope, and we have for the first time a treatment of "The Ancient City" for the Biblical world, based upon the community for which after all we possess more materials than any other in that sphere. Even Babylonian archæology has not brought us much beyond the confines of temple and palace. Then there is the particular problem of Jerusalem, which possessed none of the commercial and agricultural resources of a metropolis; by nature only an 'Ir or akropolis, she grew into a great city as the artificial creation of royalty and religion. Hence its politics differed from that of the other cities of Israel, except Samaria, of which we know almost nothing; its direct government lay theoretically in the hands of the king or the highpriest. But again, in the action and

reaction of social life, a new element arose. Jerusalem grew into a cosmopolitan city, with its mercenaries and traders, its pilgrims and foreign rulers. It became a city in the most intense sense of the word, as London is to England or Paris to France, with a clamorous, aggressive citizenry, insistent on its voice and action, by force or obstinacy or purchase acquiring its privileges from the *de facto* ruler, king or highpriest. In a striking chapter on "The Multitude" Professor Smith admirably brings this point out; he shows, what is often ignored, how, the people of Jerusalem were by no means the complaisant subjects of court and temple, but often successfully opposed the royal or priestly policy; more than once too the dominant faction was successfully antagonistic to the spiritual interests connected with the Temple. Without doubt the people of Jerusalem exercised a constitutional part in the conduct of Judah's affairs, whatever position we may take upon the definition of Sanhedrin and Great Synagogue. The author opposes, it may be remarked, Büchler's theory of the existence of two distinct religious and civil tribunals in Jerusalem. It would be interesting to know what position he would take toward Judge Sulzberger's interpretation of the Am Ha-Aretz. But he fully appreciates the democratic character of the Jewish constitution; he will not admit that the constitution of the free Greek cities materially affected that of Jerusalem, which was essentially indigenous. True and profound is the comparison which he draws (II, p. 439) between the Areopagus and the Temple courts. In this connection it may be suggested that a comparative study of what the Greeks called "holy cities", to which class Jerusalem belonged, would be most instructive; the cities so recognized by Hellenistic politics were mostly on Semitic or kindred soil.

The third book, on the history of Jerusalem, is a shaft dropped right through the centuries of Israel's history, at its very core. At least from the time of Isaiah Jerusalem is the centre of Israel, and her history is that of the race. The second volume is accordingly a limited history of the Jewish people, and we would express the hope that Professor Smith will now undertake the task of that desideratum in English Biblical literature, a history of Israel. Withal, despite this expansion of his subject, he keeps his purpose well in

view; it is still the story of Jerusalem he tells, as acted and seen by Jerusalemites, with ever the Holy City for the setting. The *abondance de richesse* in this volume hinders from further analysis; we are content to take it as the prolegomena of a larger work.

To notice now some particular points, we would call attention to the full and often original discussions of the place-names in and around Jerusalem. For En-Rogel Smith rejects the interpretation "Fuller's Spring", very properly, and connects the doubtful word with the Syriac *rōgālō* (*rāgōlā*) "current," supposing that the ancient spring which gave its name to what is now irregularly called a spring has disappeared through seismic action. A better verbal connection would be with the cognate Syriac word *r'gel'thā*, the Arabic *riḡlah*, which means both stream and wady, the former being a standing Peshitto translation of the Hebrew *nahal*. The participial form in *rōgel* may be compared to the Syriac noun-of-agent *rāgōlā* (which also equals *nahal*) and to the participial form of the Arabic *wādy*. En-Rogel is then "the spring (at the head) of the wady", *i. e.* the Wady en-Nar. To the modern name for this spring, Bir Ayyub, "Job's Well", might be cited Kittel's suggestion that the name is a reminiscence of Joab and the history in I Kings 1. For the name Sion an attractive etymology is offered (I, p. 145): it is the same as a frequent Arabic place-name for a citadel, Ṣahyun, to be derived from *ṣahweh* "hmup, ridge". The philological contraction into Sion would agree with Lagarde's preference for the Syriac Ṣehyon as original. It seems to us that the Hebrew *ṣiyyūn*, a cairn for marking the road, etc., is the simplest etymology. An elaborate discussion of the name Jerusalem is given, in which is combatted Haupt's Sumerian etymology, without arrival at a positive conclusion. The explanation just published by Clay which makes the first element the god Ur now relieves the difficulty. As for the post-Hebraic forms, Hierousalem, etc. (see I, p. 261 ff), we think that the first three syllables must have been an artificial expansion to introduce the idea of *iepōs*. On the subject of the *šimmōr*, II Sam. 5, 8 (p. 106), Vincent's article on the Gezer Tunnel (*PEF. Qu. St.*, 1908, p. 218) can now be added to the discussion. The epigraphic evidence for the early date of the Siloam inscription (p. 102) is again seriously questioned by Stanley

A. Cook in the *Quarterly Statement* for October. As for the archæological problems connected with "the conduit of the upper pool towards the highway of the fuller's field", II Kings 18, 17; Isa. 7, 3, may they be relieved by the, to be sure, drastic theory that in consequence of the similarity of episodes the geographical details in Isaiah have been inserted into the passage in Kings? This theory would meet the strategic objection of General Wilson that the parley with the Assyrians could not have been held at the eastern wall.

Professor Smith shows his ability as an interpreter in many apt translations; thus *mishpat* he renders "cultus" (p. 387), and *mō'ed* as "diet" (p. 390). On the next page his references to the Hebrew of Ben Sira, note 5, are not borne out by Smend's readings. As an archæological note for the introduction of the Iron Age in Palestine (p. 331) may be cited I Sam. 13, 19 ff., which is evidence for the scarcity of ironsmiths at that epoch; we may suppose that these rare artisans were Philistine "tinkers" whom the Philistine over-lords were able to recall from Israel's land. The story of David and Goliath would then be a reminiscence of the borderland between the two Ages. II Sam. 14, 26 is not proof, despite p. 329, that "David stamped shekels, presumably of silver". But that there was some form of recognized small silver money, whether stamped or not, from early times, appears not only from the Biblical use of the plural of *keseḥ* but also from the use of *zu-zu* in the Amarna tablets as the denomination below the mana. Later, in the Aramaic, *zūz* is the name for the coin representing the shekel-weight of silver, and this appears to be practically its meaning at that early period. (See Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, no. 4, etc. Bezold is correct in recognizing the zuz over against Winckler and Knudtzon, who translate "shekel").

Dr. Smith takes an antagonistic position to the claim of a specific Hittite factor in Jerusalem (II, p. 14 ff.). But Winckler has now been able to show, in his report on his excavations at Boghazkoi, published Dec., 1907, that Khiba, which appears in the name of the Jerusalemite governor in the Tell el-Amarna tablets, is a Hittite deity; also the Hittite Kharri may possibly be connected with the Canaanite Horites. As for the name of Araunah, the possessor of

the Temple site, a recent discovery, about to be announced, makes it reasonable to hold that his name is Indo-European. To p. 95, it may be noted that Budde in his recent *History of Hebrew Literature* would date the Yahwist as early as Solomon's reign.

A few misprints have been observed: I, p. 102, note 1, read *II Kings*; p. 108, note 2, last line, a *waw* for a *nun*; II, p. 97, l. 18, read "first" for "second". By a queer lapse the points of the compass are thrice reversed: I, p. 93, l. 26 and p. 93, l. 19, read "west" for "east"; p. 130, l. 3, read "south-east" for "south-west". Extensive indices conclude each volume; it would be convenient if in a new edition they might be united at the end of the second.

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